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MEMORANDUM

CONCERNING

CONCERTED INTERNATIONAL RESTRAINT OF THE TRAFFIC IN INTOXICANTS AND OPIUM AMONG ABORIGINAL RACES.

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MEMORANDUM

CONCERNING

CONCERTED INTERNATIONAL RESTRAINT OF THE TRAFFIC IN INTOXICANTS AND OPIUM AMONG ABORIGINAL RACES.

We recognize that in the development of "world politics," the "Concert of Europe," whose first concerts were the Crusades, by which even in war European nations learned to co-operate; whose second series includes the great treaties of peace at the end of wars, that aimed to preserve "the balance of power;" whose third series includes the united efforts of the Great Powers in times of peace to continue peace by the Hague World Court and other plans of international arbitration, has begun a fourth concurrent series dealing with wrongs and vices because of their "moral and material injury," and because in some cases they have aroused the resistless abhorrence of the world. This series includes concerted action, long since, to suppress piracy and the slave trade, and more recent action to suppress the kindred traffic in girls and the equally piratical sale of enslaving intoxicants and opium to aboriginal races, civilized and uncivilized.

This Memorandum deals with this last form of piracy and slavery, aiming to summarize all important steps already taken or proposed by governmental and commercial bodies, especially in the United States, for the information of all concerned, and especially the official delegates of many governments gathered at Brussels on October 16, 1906, to consider further proposed restrictions of the sale of intoxicants to aboriginal races, among whom such traffic is found to be inimical at once to markets and morals, as a guide to further international action desired by many, namely, the suppression by a new treaty of such traffic in intoxicants, including opium, among all uncivilized races, in accordance with a resolution below, adopted by the United States Senate, January 4, 1901, inviting all commercial powers to join in such action.

BRUSSELS TREATY OF 1890.

1. In 1890 seventeen nations made a treaty at Brussels for the newly opened Congo country, of which article XC was as follows:

"Being justly anxious concerning the moral and material consequences to which the abuse of spirituous liquors subjects the native population, the signatory powers have agreed (that) in the districts of this zone where it shall be ascertained that, either on account of religious belief or from some other causes, the use of distilled liquors does not exist or has not been developed, the powers shall prohibit their importation. The manufacture of distilled liquors shall also be prohibited there."

Article XCII provides for a progressively increasing tax on distilled liquors for six years in all parts of the zone to which the above prohibition does not apply, as an experiment on which to determine a minimum tax that will be prohibitory to natives.

The list of Nations included in this convention, given in the order in which they ratified the treaty, is as follows:

Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, the independent States of the Congo, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Persia, Sweden and Norway, Zanzibar, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Porte, the French Republic, United States. Portugal.

The testimony of missionaries is that the treaty has been to a good degree effective.

BRUSSELS TREATY FOR 1899.

2. In 1899, the same nations sent delegates to what was this time an official temperance convention, called to deal only with liquor selling to natives of Africa, and made another treaty, based on experiments referred to, to protect the natives of a large part of Africa against distilled liquors.

By this treaty, in which the same nations joined (except Zanzibar, which had been absorbed), with Russia added, the tax on distilled liquors in the entire zone, described in Article XC of the treaty of 1890, was raised from 10 to 52 cents a gallon, which, by experiment provided for in the treaty of 1890, had been determined to be a prohibitory tax for the native races. As the portions of Africa north of this zone are Mohammedan countries, whose native races are abstainers from all intoxicants by the requirement of their religion, and as the portions south of this zone were mostly protected, so far as the natives are concerned, by the new British policy

of prohibiting liquor selling among native tribes in protection of trade, as well as for other reasons, it will be seen that this second treaty aimed to complete the protection of African races against distilled liquors without restricting its use by the whites, so far as they were able to pay the increased price.

(It is assumed that the inadequacy of this attempt to prohibit by raising the tax and price was the occasion for calling a third conference on the subject in 1906.)

OFFICIAL BRITISH DECLARATIONS AGAINST SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS AND OPIUM TO ABORIGINAL RACES.

DECLARATION OF RT. HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, WHEN BRITISH COLONIAL SECRETARY.

When the extra heavy tax was imposed on foreign spirits imported into West Africa, the region purchased by the English Government from the Royal Niger Company, the traders complained that these heavy dues interfered with their trade. The Colonial Secretary, the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, replied that it was *the intention of the Government to discourage the drink traffic, as it ultimately destroyed all trade by destroying the population.*

PROHIBITION FOR SUDAN NATIVES.

Foreign Office, December 10, 1900.

Sir: Lord Cromer states that Lord Kitchener, when governor-general of the Sudan, instructed the moodirs to see that no liquor was sold to natives, but that no written orders under the ordinance have been published. License holders are under police supervision and are fully aware of the prohibition of sale to natives. The question does not really arise in practice, as the liquors imported are too expensive for the natives to purchase. Recently the importation in small quantities of mastic, a cheaper kind of liquor, has been sanctioned under the express condition that it is only for the consumption of the Greeks.

I am, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

T. H. SANDERSON,
(Sec'y of Lord Lansdowne.)

Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, Washington, D. C.

GRADUAL PROHIBITION OF OPIUM IN BURMA.

India Office, Whitehall, S. W., September 13, 1900.

Sir: With reference to your letter of July 18, 1900, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, which has been forwarded to this office, I am directed by Lord George Hamilton to forward an extract containing a description of the rules regarding cultivation, manufacture and sale of opium and the registration system applied to opium consumption in Burma.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

HORACE WALPOLE.

Wilbur F. Crafts, Esq., Reform Bureau, Washington, D. C.

(Extracts from Rules, 81.)

The system of registering Burmans was introduced in the beginning of 1893. It was then decided to extend the prohibition of the use of opium (except for medicinal purposes) by Burmans, which had always been enforced in Upper Burma, to Lower Burma. In order to avoid inflicting hardship on Burmans who had become habituated to the use of the drug, notices were issued in March, 1893, to the effect that after the new system had been introduced no Burmans except such as had registered themselves would be permitted to possess opium, except for medicinal purposes; that all Burmans of 25 years and upwards who desired to continue the use of opium must register themselves; and that Burmans under 25 years of age were not permitted to register.

BRITISH COLONIES FAVOR MORE DRASTIC MEASURES.

In 1904, through the representations of Dr. Francis E. Clark, Chairman of the American "Native Races Deputation," composed of leading officers of missionary and reform societies, the missionary bodies of Australia were led to memorialize the Premier and Lieut.-Governor of Australia to second a request of the American President (described below) that Great Britain should join the United States in submitting to other commercial powers an agreement to mutually prohibit the sale of intoxicants and opium among uncivilized races. The Australian Government also undertook to restrain these traffics in Australia, and has since carried a strong prohibitory law for opium. A bill has passed one house of the federal parliament at least looking to protection of the savages of the South Sea islands against intoxicants.

In Canada representative religions and reform bodies and mass meetings have petitioned the British Government to join the United States in submitting the proposed universal treaty. An anti-opium society has also been formed in Toronto to aid the emancipation of China.

RELEASE OF CHINA FROM TREATY COMPULSION TO TOLERATE THE OPIUM TRAFFIC.

On May 30, the British Parliament reiterated unanimously its previous declaration that the Indo-Chinese opium trade is "morally indefensible," and requested His Majesty's Government to "bring it to a speedy close," which it is understood is to be done on the "gradual emancipation" method, in ten years.

ATTITUDE OF CHINESE GOVERNMENT AND OFFICIALS.

The Chinese Government agrees also to suppress the domestic culture of the poppy in the ten year period, and in the meantime to exclude all opium users from official positions.

In this connection it is pertinent to cite interviews with and letters of Chinese Ministers at Washington, who repeatedly sent to their Imperial Government expressions of American sentiment in favor of the emancipation of China from the opium curse.

In 1900, Mr. Wu Ting Fang, in an interview with and in a letter to Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, Superintendent of the International Reform Bureau, showed that the Chinese Emperors from the fourth century had usually prohibited the sale and use of intoxicants, and also, when permitted, the sale and use of opium except for medicinal purposes. (Confirmatory of the claims of Mr. Wu we may cite the testimony of President James B. Angell that when he was an American Minister at Pekin he "would not see three drunken Chinamen in a year.")

The sympathy of the present Chinese Minister with American efforts to emancipate China is shown in the following letter, the proposals of which, as to China's duty at this stage of the crusade, are now being carried into effect, in part, no doubt, because of the expressions he has sent to his Government from Americans and in his own behalf.

Imperial Chinese Legation, Washington, 31st December, 1905.

Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts,

My dear Sir: I have read your letter of the 28th instant with enclosure of a copy of an address* made by you on September 25th with the greatest interest. The work you and your society is endeavoring to accomplish is a most noble one, and deserves all commendation. And I trust you will meet with ultimate success. Opium, though of a much milder character than the Indian drug, has been much grown in parts of China itself. While it is very well to stop the importation from British India, China should also take steps to prohibit its cultivation in her own territory. Our duty to mankind, to the better development of my countrymen, demands this. But how far existing conditions will permit immediate, radical action on the part of its Imperial Government my fellow officials in China are better judges than myself. To uproot such a deep evil will take time. No greater harm can be done to the human race than this low absorbing drug, and this subject should engage the serions attention of every friend of humanity. In returning you the copy of your address, I wish you a most happy new year.

Yours sincerely,

* "What Next in Japan and China?" CHENTUNG LIANG CHENG.

It should be noted that reputable Chinese merchants have materially aided in securing prohibition of opium in Australia and the Philippines; and in the United States they took the following part in the popular effort to emancipate China from opium:

PETITION OF CHINESE ANTI-OPIUM SOCIETY OF SAN FRANCISCO, APRIL 1, 1905.

(Translation.)

To the Honorable the Secretary of State, Hon. John Hay, Washington, D. C.:

The undersigned, being natives of China, or descendants of the same, earnestly petition you to use your great diplomatic influence to induce Great Britain to withdraw from China the opium treaty, thus making it possible for China to prevent the use of opium by stopping the growth of the poppy and prohibiting the manufacture and sale of opium within her jurisdiction.

ATTITUDE OF JAPANESE OFFICIALS.

The effective prohibition of opium except for medicinal uses in Japan proper, and the gradual prohibition in force in Formosa are both instructive. The recent Japanese Minister at Washington, Mr. Takahira, sent to the Mikado's Government American expressions of sympathy with China's desire to suppress the opium curse.

The Japanese Government itself took the initiative in getting from the International Reform Bureau at Washington, through Minister Takahira before the war, all the documents bearing on the crusade to protect all aboriginal races against intoxicants and opium. In an interview later with Dr. DeForest, a missionary, Baron Komura, then holding the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, expressed cordial approval of the proposed treaty to protect all such tribes against all intoxicants and opium.

APPROVAL OF KING OSCAR.

In 1904, Dr. Francis E. Clark, already cited as Chairman of the American Native Races Deputation, presented the proposed treaty to protect all aboriginal races against all intoxicants and opium to King Oscar, who gave the project his cordial approval.

ACTION AND ATTITUDE OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE.

From message of President Grover Cleveland, December 4, 1893.

By Article XII of the general act of Brussels, signed July 2, 1890, for the suppression of the slave trade and the restriction of certain injurious commerce in the independent State of the Kongo and in the adjacent zone of Central Africa, the United States and other signatory powers agreed to adopt the appropriate means for the punishment of persons selling arms and ammunition to the natives and for the confiscation of the inhibited articles. It being the plain duty of this government to aid in suppressing the nefarious traffic, impairing as it does the praiseworthy and civilizing efforts now in progress, I recommend that an act be passed prohibiting the sale of arms and intoxicants to natives in the regulated zone by our citizens.

From message of President William McKinley, December 3, 1900.

We have been urgently solicited by Belgium to ratify the International Convention of June, 1899, amendatory of the previous Convention of 1890, in relation to the regulation of the liquor traffic in Africa. Compliance was necessarily withheld in the absence of advice and consent of the Senate thereto. The principle involved has the cordial sympathy of this government, which in the revisionary negotiations advocated more drastic measures, and I would gladly see its extension, by international agreement to the restriction of the liquor traffic with all uncivilized peoples, especially in the Western Pacific.

Letter from Ex-President Harrison.

In response to a request from the International Reform Bureau for the support of the Lodge resolution declaring for additional treaties and laws to protect uncivilized races against intoxicants, opium and firearms, and the Gillett New Hebrides bill, which provides as installment of such protection for all Pacific islands not under the government of any civilized power, the following letter was received from Ex-President Harrison:

January 1, 1901.

My dear Sir: I have received your letter of the 21st ultimo, and in reply I beg to say that I have made it a rule not to sign petitions or appeals to members of Congress for legislation. I have expressed myself upon the subject in a public address in the paragraph to which your letter refers. It does seem to me as if the Christian nations of the world ought to be able to make their contact with the weaker peoples of the earth beneficent and not destructive, and I give to your efforts to secure helpful legislation my warmest sympathy.

Very truly yours,

Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, Washington, D. C. BENJAMIN HARRISON.

The public utterance referred to in the letter is the following from Ex-President Harrison's address as Honorary President of the Ecumenical Missionary Conference which met in New York last Spring:

"The men who, like Paul, have gone to heathen lands with the message, 'We seek not yours but you,' have been hindered by those who coming after have reversed the message. Rum and other corrupting agencies come in with our boasted civilization, and the feeble races wither before the hot breath of the white man's vices."

From message of President Theodore Roosevelt, December 2, 1901.

In dealing with the aboriginal races few things are more important than to preserve them from a terrific physical and moral degradation resulting from the liquor traffic. We are doing all we can to save our own Indian tribes from this evil. Whenever by international agreement this same end can be obtained as regards races where we do not possess exclusive control, every effort should be made to bring it about.

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT AND SENATE PROPOSE A UNIVERSAL TREATY TO SUPPRESS TRAFFIC IN OPIUM AND INTOXICANTS AMONG ALL UNCIVILIZED RACES.

Senate resolution, January 4, 1901.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this body the time has come when the principle, twice affirmed in international treaties for Central Africa, that native races should be protected against the destructive traffic in intoxicants should be extended to all uncivilized peoples by enactment of such laws and the making of such treaties as will effectually prohibit the sale by the signatory powers to aboriginal tribes and uncivilized races of opium and intoxicating beverages.

Letter of Secretary Hay.

Secretary John Hay, U. S. State Department (in letter of December 11, 1901, replying to Chairman of Native Races Deputation):—Your suggestion that I call the attention of the nations concerned to the Resolution of the Senate, adopted Jan. 4, 1901, as likely to have influence by indicating the concurrent opinion of the two branches of the treaty making power, the Senate and the Executive, has my cordial acquiescence. In view of the circumstances that the former representations to the other powers were made by the British Government as well as by our own, I shall initiate renewed overtures in the proposed sense by communicating the Senate Resolution to the British Government, with the suggestion that it be made the basis of concurrently reopening the question with the powers having influence on commerce in the Western Pacific, or in any other uncivilized quarter where the salutary principle of liquor restriction could be practically applied through the general enactment of similar laws by the several countries or through a conventional agreement between them.

Proposal Renewed, 1906.

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT VETOES OPIUM MONOPOLY AND ENACTS OPIUM PROHIBITION IN THE PHILIPPINES.

May 31, 1903, a bill to establish a government monopoly of opium passed second reading in the Philippine Government, but American missionaries appealed by cablegram to the American people through the International Reform Bureau with the result that the opium monopoly was vetoed on June 14th. An Opium Commission was then sent out from Manila by the Government to study opium laws of other Asiatic countries. This commission advised that revenue and restriction have never worked effectively together, and recommend Japan's prohibitory plan with exceptions only for medicine.

In March, 1905, the United States Congress enacted a law prohibiting at once the selling of opium to Filipinos, and forbidding all sales except for medicinal purposes after three years, that is, in 1908. This veto of the opium monopoly, this opium report and this opium prohibition all had a powerful influence in securing the unanimous vote in the British Parliament on May 30, 1906, to release China from the opium treaties.

AMERICAN COMMERCIAL BODIES RECOGNIZE TRAFFIC IN INTOXICANTS AS AN INJURY TO COMMERCE.

Appeal to Hon. John Hay, "The Golden Rule Diplomatist."

To the Honorable, the Secretary of State:

The Board of Trade of Baltimore has authorized the undersigned in its behalf to petition you to use your great diplomatic influence to induce Great Britain to withdraw from China the opium treaty, which a British writer characterized as "the enemy of the honest trade of every nation," since it destroys the buying power of China in all the markets of the world, by impoverishing millions of her people.

Secretary Hay granted two hearings to the American Native Races Deputation—one in behalf of the universal treaty to protect all uncivilized races against all intoxicants and opium, and the other in behalf of the emancipation of China from the opium traffic, and in both cases expressed without delay or reserve his unqualified approval of the object presented.

Appeal to the President by Pittsburg Chamber of Commerce.

"The Pittsburg Chamber of Commerce, recalling the repeated recommendations of President McKinley, renewed by President Roosevelt, that Congress should appoint a commission to study the industrial and commercial conditions in the Chinese Empire, and to report as to the opportunities for and the obstacles to the enlargements of the markets in China, and recognizing that the pauperizing of more than one hundred millions of its people by opium and the anti-foreign feeling which has been partly caused by the act of Great Britain in compelling China to repeal [illegible] prohibition of this most baneful of drugs, is one of the great obstacles to the development of that largest market in the world, hereby join with others in petitioning President Roosevelt to use his 'good offices,' through Secretary Hay, to induce Great Britain to release China from the treaty provision which compels it to tolerate this traffic which is working great material as well as moral injury.

"1. It seems only right and just that China or any country should be relieved from any obligation which would force an evil or injury upon her people contrary to her will.

"2. Every government, so long as it retains its sovereignty, ought to have the unrestricted authority to regulate its own internal affairs.

"3. The opium traffic, by pauperizing and demoralizing the people, will be a great obstacle to the enlargement and development of the foreign commerce of China, in which our own country is already largely interested, and to which it looks forward with great expectation."

Appeal to President Roosevelt from Merchants' Association of New York City.

"Whereas, Under the provisions of the treaty existing between England and China, the trade in opium has been forced upon the Chinese Empire for more than half a century and the police power to regulate and control such trade has been taken away from the Government of China; and

"Whereas, The use of opium, which has grown tremendously under the operations of this treaty, and which it is now estimated involves over 120,000,000 people, or about one quarter of the population of the Empire, has raised a bitter resentment among the Chinese people against all foreigners; and

"Whereas, The effect of this widespread use of opium has been to demoralize, diminish and in many instances nullify their purchasing power, thereby greatly curtailing the ability of the Empire of China to consume the products of the world, including the products of this country; and

"Whereas, It seems probable that the logic of events now making in the Far East will necessitate in the near future a revision of treaty rights between the Empire of China and the Kingdom of Great Britain; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, by the Board of Directors of the Merchants Association of New York that the power and right to regulate and control its own internal affairs should be restored to the Empire of China, in order that justice may be done to that Empire; the growing intensity of hatred for all foreigners may be counteracted, and the producing and purchasing power of the Empire may not continue thus to be curtailed; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Government of the United States, through its Honorable Secretary of State, be, and is hereby requested to use its good offices, in so far as the same may be done consistently, to induce the restoration to the Empire of China its full and proper police powers relative to this subject; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Secretary of the Association is hereby authorized and directed to forward a copy of these preambles and resolutions to the President of the United States and to each member of his Cabinet, particularly to the Hon. John Hay, Secretary of State."

Action of National Board of Trade.

The National Board of Trade, January 19, 1905, voted that it considered the proposed emancipation of China from opium a matter of "great importance," and urged that it be considered by all commercial bodies and that resulting conclusions be sent to Secretary John Hay.

Petition of American People to all Civilized Nations.

On December 6, 1901, 461 petitions from 36 States were presented to the State Department, all in substance as follows:

Resolved, That this meeting earnestly petitions all civilized governments for laws and treaties to protect native races against intoxicants and opium, and the presiding officer is hereby authorized to so attest. We respectfully petition all governments to take both separate and united action to suppress the traffics in opium and intoxicants among all aboriginal races, in the interest of markets, morals and missions, which at least certainly have a claim on the consideration of governments as civilizing agencies greatly hindered by the traffic herein opposed.

Respectfully submitted in behalf of the International Reform Bureau, and the Native Races Deputation.

WILBUR F. CRAFTS,
Superintendent of the International Reform Bureau.
Secretary of Native Races Deputation.

INTERNATIONAL REFORM BUREAU

206 Pennsylvania Ave., S. E.,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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NATIVE RACES DEPUTATION.

Object, to emancipate China from opium, and to promote Senate Resolution of Jan. 4, 1901, following:

"In the opinion of this body the time has come when the principle, twice affirmed in international treaties for Central Africa, that native races should be protected against the destructive traffic in intoxicants, should be extended to all uncivilized peoples by the enactment of such laws and the making of such treaties as will effectually prohibit the sale by the signatory powers to aboriginal tribes and uncivilized races of opium and intoxicating beverages."

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